[524 & 539] No. 30. Nyolio, nyolio.
Enigma. Thus-there, this-here.
Reply. Ol-eyiliti le-kolio.
The-drop of-milk.

That there is the drop of milk at the bottom of the gourd; this here is the drop when the gourd has been tipped up into the mouth.

[Note the play on the words nyolio and kolio.]

No. 31. Ogilidi Ilgoto ai-nirunga.
Enigma. Poor the-mother who-gives-blood.
Reply. E-nolo ne-ligorishorki, nolen
The-gourd which-we-shut-for, and-it-will-miss
a-nerge.
the-blood.

Why is the mother weak?
Because they did not catch the blood in the gourd.

No. 32. Sambarumbuti ai-nolotwa.
Enigma. Butterfly resembleness.
Reply. Ol-kila lon'-arusiani.
The-garment of-the-beads.

What resembles a butterfly?
A garment with beads worked on it.

[554 & 561] [It is only the'best dressed girls who wear skins ornamented with beads, and when they move about from one hut to another, they are supposed to resemble butterflies.]

No. 33. Tamusai te-kiya-matwa
Enigma. Go-by-a-roundabout-route round-that-part
o'l-doinyo, kitumi
of-the-mountain, and we-get (*or* meet)-one-another
ake 'ng-aik.
they-are-blood-red the-hands.
Reply. E-lasa.
The-fruit-of-a-blood-red-colour.

What will your hands be like if we meet after you have gone round that part of the mountain? The lasa fruit.

[563] [This is a common wild fruit (*Kinamia amoriensis*, L.) of which the Masai are very fond. It stains everything a blood-red colour.]

[P.282]

N-DIUN OO-L-MAASAE
MASAI CUSTOMS

301 Seghengo oo-'murto oo 'surutya oo-'ŋgurŏyok, oo 'n-gulye-tŏkitin.

Women's iron necklaces and ear-rings, and other matters.

Nŋi po esta 'ŋgurŏyok i-seghengo oo-'murto oo 'surutya [585] [554] ŋi p' eiyŏlŏuni 'ŋjoo 'ŋgurŏyok kunda.

The reason why women wear necklaces of iron and ear-rings (called 'surutya) is in order that it shall be known that they are married.

[881] Anu itadua, 'l-Maasae emurat in-doiye etaa lŏtoro, nŋi p'ŏori en-ditoo-ŋgurŏyŏni.

The Masai circumcise girls when they grow up, and these ornaments are worn to make a distinction between girls and women.

For if the women were left without the iron necklaces or the ear-rings, it could not be ascertained whether they were women or girls.

Anu tee epali 'ŋgurŏyok mesta 'seghengo oo-'murto araki 'surutya, nemeiyŏlŏuni e-ŋgurŏyŏni o en-dito.

A Masai girl who has been circumcised is not called girl but woman. That is to say, she is called young woman until she gives birth to a child.

881 52 Itadua, en-dito nemurati too-'l-Maasae nŋi en-dito ŋi e-ŋgurŏyŏni: kake ŋi e-sianglki oo metŏlabo.

Even if she is very young, she is considered to be grown up as soon as she has been circumcised.

Ten a kiti naleŋg, naa e-ŋgurŏyŏni ake etiu nŋa.

A woman is recognisable by three things, the ear-rings, the iron-necklace, and the big garment, none of which girls possess.

301 554 Eiyŏlŏuni e-ŋgurŏyŏni too-'n-dŏkitin uni, 'surutya, oo 'seghengo oo-'murto, oo 'l-okesena. Nemesta 'n-doiye kunna pŏkin.

Girls wear beads, small pieces of iron wire (called 'seenganí), and other trifles round their necks, and a small cloth. They also have chains in their ears, and armlets and anklets of iron.

'Musetani epika 'n-doiye oo 'n-gutiti-seghengo ntirina, naaji 'seenganí, o ol-giliabŏni, oo 'n-gulye-kutiti-tŏkitin naapik i-murto, 'l-piaya loo-'n-giyaa, oo 'seghengo oo-'ag-aik, oo 'n-oo-'n-gujek.

1: Hollis C-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Kaidoy ol-kila tho o e-mantoi nolo te'le-lpaloo enee l-ooreno.

Kanopik ainje 'ngortyuk ilki 'le-lpaloni anye, 'e-gitoito ake nanioye 'l-kilani keye tee'le-lpaloni.

Kaidoy i-ngortyuk il-kilani ore, tho ilji ol-chamma o likee ilji ol-kikiloopo.

Ore ai 'eurutyo, nee ee-ikki kituk too'l-Kaanee, enee naitio 'ngortyuk entolgai 'eurutyo enye pooloo ake tee nolo ol-nairoo keeye.

Kee, tee oitoo e-ngortytai 'eurutyo nigh oitokitoto en-gitoo, ere pe enilgo ol-nairoo keeye, nakwot ejl ale epika 'eurutyo enyeno, pe nenkai ol-nairoo nooto.

Ore tee ale ol-nairoo 'e-gwopi, nenoitio e-ngortytai enye oitoo 'eurutyo, enee tee ake kulikae-nirusk nooto, nije olle ol-nairoo keeye.

They wear one garment and a belt round their waists similar to the warriors.

Women wear nothing round their waists except a broad belt with which they fasten their garments.

They also wear two clothes, one called ol-chamma, and the other ol-kikilohopo.

Now with regard to the women's ear-rings, they are of great consequence amongst the Masai, for no woman ventures to leave them off during her husband's lifetime.

Were a woman to take off her ear-rings and hang them up while doing her work, she would run into her hut on hearing her husband approach, and put them on again, so that he should not see her without them.

If a man goes away from home, his wife does not dare to take off her ear-rings, for were the other men to see her without them, they would tell her that her husband will hate her.

301
554

Eurutya o ol-maonguo loo'l-mdruak oo'n-guiyo-tikitin.

The ear-rings and arm-rings of old men, and other matters.

301
554

'L-eyuk oo 'n-doiyo enpika 'n-guiaiso. Epika 'l-mooroo oo 'l-mdruak il-giao 'n-giyoo,nooto

Boys and girls put blocks of wood into their ears, called 'n-guiaiso[1], and warriors and old-men wear chain ear-

[1] These blocks are gradually increased in size as the lobe stretches. The proper length is attained if the lobes meet at the top of the head. Perhaps the largest Masai ear-ring in existence is one of stone weighing 2 lb. 14 oz., which the author recently presented to the British Museum.

[304]

I: Hollis C-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

301 554 'l-kutori tor-'ng-ok.

Ilotii el-nabore lor-'l-Masaae oldim eiyiloayo 'norotiyo lomo el-ilata 'e-gwee enkiliyiloki entomorot, il-nyoro ne 'ilgwenyok. Inolua, el-ilata lomon gilisio oldim eiyiloayo 'norotiyo.

Ilii el ne-ditki enji el-monongwe, nam 'ntiroonik ne-'l-entiroonik ne 'l-ala lor-'l-ebolyit enyoki ngwenanit nolua oldim.

Eiyiloa el-nabore lomonto 'e-gilata kumok ne 'e-gwee kumok.

One el-ilata 'e-gilata kumok ne 'e-gwee enkiyilio gilisi-tolgwani, oldim eiyiloayo el-monongwe pe elimilunye ne-gilisi nuye.

Ilii ne-ditki enji e-nay nayiloa 'l-nooroo, kake ayiloa te-'nidoon aloo.

Ee-giroriklino ne-'l-Masaae.

Too etomoo el-nooroni o ilkaa, ayiloki: 'Eipoi.' Kairo-kiloo el-ilkaa, ayio: 'Eipo.'[1] Too etomo 'l-nooroo kumok, ayio: 'Enkutipoi 'l-nooroo,' nairokiloo 'l-kolikaa, ayio: 'Eipo.'

ring, called *il-gisi*'. They also have chain bracelets.

No Masai elder may wear the ornament called 'norotiyo nolua' by his children who have been circumcised and become warriors and women; but he who has grown up children may wear 'norotiyo.

There is another thing, an ornament called el-monongwe, which is cut out of a buffalo horn or an elephant's tusk, and made to look beautiful.

No elder may wear this unless he has large herds of cattle and many children.

He who is well known to possess many head of cattle and also many children may wear this arm-ring as a sign of his wealth.

There is also an arm-ebony called e-nay, which the warriors wear, but they only put this on as an ornament[2].

Masai salutations.

When one warrior meets another, he says: 'Eipoi'; and when several warriors meet, one party says: 'Enkutipoi, O warriors!' The right to these greetings is 'Eipo.'

[1] *Il-gisi* (plur. *el-gisi*) is also the word used for rings which young men, women, and children wear. They are made of iron or brass wire, and are frequently worn on the thumb as well as on the four fingers.

[2] A list of the warriors' ornaments, &c., is given on p. 290.

* The *k* is often omitted, and the word pronounced *ipo* or *eyo*.

In Hollis C-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

[134] amongst all children and women, except a very few boys.

One has eldigi entenenyi. Ilmoruk, eldi 'Ilgalile.

Ilmoruk 'ag-eldigi olgirwa il-eldi, entoloimoitoi 'ag-ai.

One 'a-loo enye enyanyuki 'ag-enyagini ye, loo eldigira 'a-kiriye, nemeie i-nemei.

[135] Ilmoruk nenitwo ediliie, enligur le-Ilmoruk enyuk il-lugilenyi; enyuk ali 'l-ilgile.

Enyori entoloi 'l-eldigira elmoruk nemo 'Ilgerigeik enyuk i-nemeiye ne 'l-kilani. Ilmoruk ali 'ag-nemeiie ne 'a-ilmoran.

One ol eldiie gilgira, enkorori, enaiie 'l-ilmoruk. One ol eaiie 'l-ilmoruk, enitwo 'l-kilani, entoloi le-ilkiliie ne 'l-meiye.

561 One ge eaiie 'l-aigilan, eeji 'l-meiye.

One meiye il-meiwa entoloi ne ol 'l-eligik aneki 'Il-gumbini, nemo elmoruk entoloiye 'a-kiriaiie aneki 'l-nenigan.

• 954 One ol 'l-meiwa 'l-eligik ine eldia enimet il-meek kumok. kile ne eliok le the blood is carried by the boy and placed on his bed.

When the boys have all been circumcised they are called 'Ilgalile (recluse).

They remain at home for five days, and here are prepared for them.

They then walk forth and about as the young girls, their arrows being blunted with a piece of hoop-wood so that they cannot penetrate into the girls' bodies.

They also shave small 'birds', which they wear round their heads together with ostrich feathers.

The Ilgalile like to appear as women and wear the necklace, earrings and garments reaching to the ground. They also paint their face with chalk.

When they have all recovered, they are shaved again and become Il-kurrut (the shaved ones). They then discard the long garments and wear warriors' skins and ornaments.

After this their hair is allowed to grow, and as soon as it has grown long enough to plait, they are called Il-meiwa (warriors)*.

The warriors are fond of the titles 'l-eligik (the bulls) and 'Il-gumbini (the generous people), for they may then wear bells or a bracelet called il-kerenget.

How to become one of the Eligik, a warrior must kill many savages.

[134] * The bird which the Ilgalile wear round their heads is the crowned bird (Balearica regulorum, Bonaparte). Boys who behaved in a cowardly manner during the operation are not allowed to shave these birds.

* This word is commonly but incorrectly written Elmoran.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS

Ore ejl 'E-gwenisinl ten ayalog E-merlagi, enkake 'l-kedilose 'e-gisi.

The elders are known as [154] they frequently slaughter bullocks and give the meat to their comrades.

E-mooniaa ene 'e-dolyo.

The girls' circumcision.

Ten elyiteni enlyanai 'e-dolyo ae l-Kiseene, enmyenisi.

When Maasai girls wish to marry, they are circumcised. [97] [305]

Ore enge-ololig emoomuni, elyolligi el-keen ainake el-kiolig, ejl El-ekegerdeenisi, enene keer 'e-ngolo.

On the day that the operation is performed, a sheep or bullock is slaughtered, and as with the boys it is called 'Eto (ontoto)' which has caused her to be taken out (from amongst the girls).

Kimoomuni ainyie el-enene ejl. Enee, ken elakiti, emoomia ae-nabo.

Women are appointed upon holidays, and it is not considered a disgrace if they cry out. [304]

Kingidoo ainyie 'e-ngolo enene 'e-ngolo, el-meetidoo alee ejolee.

Instead of the ostrich feathers which the boys wear, a crown made from the horns of the Elgitoons (or dassie) palm, or of grass, is donned. [307] [308]

Ore ken elakiti, enlyanai.

When they recover, they are married. [305]

E-mooria.

The feast called E-mooria or the selection of a chief'. [306] [309]

Ten elyita 'l-mooriae enkaai, enyeno enkipa ekiliguna El-enoitoi, ee el-kolligani ilaita enanye en ilpiroonye ekiliguna, enata 'e-ngolee, enkita ee-nkolig ilar el-kolligani, entomboonye 'ol-mpuk e-nanye en ilpiroonye, enanata 'ng-enyuk gnai'.

If the warriors wish to select a chief, who is called El-oononi, they choose a man whose parents are still living, who owns cattle and has never killed anybody, whose parents are not blind, and who himself has not a discoloured eye.

Ore ge elolo, nemillisi;

When they succeed in getting such

* A chief called El-oononi is appointed for each sub-district. His duties are to keep the warriors of his sub-district together, and be in readiness to the chief medicine-men the their appearance in case of war. If a warrior disobeys the orders of his chief, he is flogged or ostracised by his companions.

* Pan (pl. gnai) means the colour of a corpse or kite.

D:Bernardi B, 36-6 (no date) 1955 FL.12 Maasai FL.12

On the whole, these two authorities stress the linguistic unity of all the Masai.

The great majority of the Masai are pastoral, only very few tribes having taken to agriculture. The pastoral tribes follow a semi-nomadic way of life. "They move", writes Lord Hailey, "with their herds in order to avail themselves of the seasonal variations in water supplies, so that in effect they practise a system of rotational grazing". The same writer,[1] reports "a recent estimate" of Masai herds in Kenya which puts "the number of cattle at over 700,000, with 800,000 sheep and a large number of donkeys". For Tanganyika no given no figure. The above estimates show clearly enough how the attitude of the Masai to cattle is a paramount feature of their life. To own cattle is a privilege obtained through initiation, and large herds are a sign of outstanding social status. Cattle are the main economic interest and investment for the Masai.[2]

The total population of all the Masai may be reckoned at about 153,700. The 1948 census of Kenya's population (see Table) gives for the Samburu an estimate of 30,000, and the following figures: Uganda 1,433, the other Masai 67,201. In 1931 the Tanganyika Masai were reckoned as 55, 169.

* * *

Under the present political situation, the Masai are not administered as a single unit, for they are divided into two sections by the border of Tanganyika Territory and Kenya Colony.

In Tanganyika the Masai form one of the four districts of the Territory's Northern Province (the Masai District). In Kenya the main group inhabits the reserve adjoining Tanganyika Masai District, and constitutes the Extra Provincial District (Masai District) of the Colony. The other group (Samburu and Njemps) is incorporated with the Rift Valley Province (Samburu and Baringo District), and partly with the Northern Frontier Province. The geographical separation of the Samburu from the other Masai is the reason why the Samburu were considered, and are still considered, as a non-Masai tribe. But, as BRYAN remarks, they are true Masai. The splitting of Masailand and the separation of the Masai were made

[1] GRIGGS, *Native Administration in the British African Territories, Part I*, London 1950, p. 201.
[2] *L. c.*, p. 167.
[3] In this connection see the article of L. TAUXIER, in *Africa*, II, pp. 49 ss.

2: Bernardi E, 36-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

cattle" and "red bulls". HOBLEY,[1] recorded two subdivisions of the Uasin Gishu, "the black striped cattle", and "the red striped cattle", which were, very probably, no other thing than the colobus.

The Masai *olosho, el piata, pl. il piata* or *en piatoni, pl. en piatoni*, are patrilineal and exogamous. Generally, they do not seem to be totemic. However, HOBLEY,[2] and the author of *Bll.* No. 49 have recorded the names of a few clan totems. FOX,[3] relates also to the association of snakes with some clans.

The true exogamic unit of the Masai seems to be any individual unit, either clan or branch of the clan. A Masai may be adopted into another clan than his original one. The same provisions applies even to an slave (Kikuyu, Dorobo). The adoption, however, never attains the same social status as a full member of the clan. He is free to leave at any time, provided he returns whatever he was presented by his patrons, such as cattle or any other valuable.

The relationship between clans and their territorial distribution is not very close. Analysis would suggest that in the past, clans were territorially separated. At present, there is still a tendency for members of the same clan to live close by to one another and occupy neighbouring ecosystemata. Some sections are almost made up by members of a single clan. Thus, the *Molelian* clan is predominant in Kapiti section; the *Ainpuk* clan is predominant in Dalalekutuk section. Such facts, however, seem to be the exception. Usually clans are represented at a time in many different sections "There is no rule", writes HOBLEY,[4] "*governing the distribution of the various gilat* (clans); often members of as many as three *gilat* will be found in one *nora ongang* (eldest' village) or a *nora nanyat* (warriors' village)".

Water and cattle are generally clan possession. When new water sources are discovered, they are claimed on behalf of the clan. All clan members who live in the neighbourhood are entitled to make use of them. A foreigner may also be allowed to water his cattle there. If disputes arise, they are settled by the council of clan-members on the spot. As a matter of fact, these water sources are the centre of ordinary social life, as FOSBROOKE[5] writes: "The

[1] HOBLEY, l. c., p. 488.
[2] HOBLEY, l. c., p. 180.
[3] FOX, l. c., p. 488.
[4] HOBLEY, *Eastern Uganda. An ethnological Survey*, London 1902, p. 111.
[5] FOSBROOKE, l. c., p. 42.

2: Barnard E, 36-4 (no date) 1955 FLII Maori FLII

of so-and-so. When he replies to his name, he is told to go and make a profit. He answers "Hurtle and Smite". This is repeated four times, and the ceremony is over".

The ceremony is performed only once in a man's life, namely when he "wishes to have his eldest child circumcised". This particular circumstance shows that by "the passing of the knee" a man obtains a special elderly status which gives him a right to have all his children initiated.

Thus, there is a relationship between the father's social status and the initiation into the age-class of his son's. None of these may be initiated unless the father has reached the proper status. The personal status of the father is reflected on his children. Therefore the "passing of the knee" is not in itself part of the age-system initiation, but a condition which must have been observed before a man is allowed to have his sons initiated.

Other authorities (Fox) have stressed the fact that class membership of a Maasi is somehow dictated by the class to which his father belongs. "The passing of the knee" gives a special emphasis to this fact and shows how a Maasi's initiation into a class is conditioned by the social status of his father. It shows how the structure of Maasi society stands on the balance of status of its members.*

"*The tearing of the ox*" (*Enkolomi ol Kitong*).* Though this ceremony is performed by a single section or a group of sections, its performance has a far reaching value which is accepted throughout Maasiland. The ceremony is performed by such sections as the Kakonyoike, the Dalalekutuk and the Purko (all Kapiti). According to Fox the Kisongo also perform it. But this is denied by Fosbrooke, who qualifies Fox's statement by saying that the Kisongo acknowledge and respect the value of the ceremony performed by the Kakonyoike.

As a matter of fact special importance is attached to the ceremony performed by the Kakonyoike, who in any case must be the first to do it and who have the lead in the matter. All the sections which

* The social balance between the father and his son is only an expression of a wider and basic principle, which, in our opinion, is an essential principle of Maasi social organization: the principle of the distribution of power. See Rasmussen, l. c., pp. 230 ss.

* Fox, *Notes on Marriage Customs among the Maasi*, in *J. R. A. S. E. A.*, 43-45, 1931, pp. 160 s.; Lamb, l. c., p. 446; *T.A.D.*, 1886, p. 8, n. 1); (1887), p. 18, n. 6); Fosbrooke, l. c., p. 97.

do not hold their own ceremony among us, or acknowledge the Kakoryoke ceremony. This is a point to be carefully noted.

Bukkokwat is preliminary not only to the circumcision ceremony but also to any other initiation ceremony.

Three different stages make up the whole of the ceremony, namely the election of the master of ceremonies, the contest, and the sacrifice of a bull followed by the cutting of the age-rank.

a) The ceremony is organized by the elders. Their first task is to select a youth qualified to be master of the ceremonies (*el ngobo el Kimaj*). They also must obtain his father's consent on payment of some bullets.

The transaction is kept secret because the office is not popular with the youths. The elders' mission is then aimed to notify that he may not escape, and tell what is in store for him.

Not every boy is eligible for the office, but only a member of the *Loguenat* clan. The *el ngobo* must wear the garments and the ear-ornaments (earrings) of the elders, whose status he is to be invested with, which seems the reason for the reluctance to accept the office. The status of the *el ngobo* is ceremonial and, according to Frey, he has no function outside the *Bukokwat*.

The *el ngobo* has to supply the ceremonial bull, " without blemish, colour black with white breast ", [2] and the ceremony is completed at his village which is enlarged for the occasion. [3]

b) The day of the contest is fixed by the elders. In the morning the bull is taken back to the village, while the elders officially introduce the *el ngobo* to the other candidates. These are told to look up to him because he is their *el ngobo*. Then, the elders order the bull into the village and immediately the boys rush in to get hold of it.

Not all the boys enter the competition, only a few from each attending section. [4]

Members of the Kakoryoke section make a point of being victorious. The contest is stopped by the elders as soon as victory is

[2] In the *Annual Report*, P.L.U., 1954, p. 9, n. 11, we are told that the " black ox is fed one day on milk and native beer, not being allowed to eat grass ".

[3] According to Lauwer a special new village is built.

[4] Lauwer writes that " only those candidates for initiation whose fathers took part in a lore-mixing ceremony are allowed to take part; the rest of the candidates cannot do so, but may sit their horses while the ceremony takes place ".

[illegible] ceremony performed. The festival lasts three days, during which some of the candidates are allowed to learn the plant. It is only on the third day that they remove all decorations and are allowed "to wear the crown".

The fourth day after the sacrifice, all candidates are informed by their leader that they are free to return home, and on doing so he warns them that they must be honest and loyal. With this *Bukugaro-Bagbiata* is over.

The relationship between the elders and the candidates, the *ti pirwa* relationship, offers a special subject of analysis.

As stated above, the elders in question are members of the class next but one above the class to be formed by the initiation of the candidates. The gradation marking the two classes perhaps often the clue to discovering why the sponsors of the candidates must be members of a definite class. We know from the rhythm of Masai class-system that the class next but one above the class of the candidates is generally the class of the fathers of the candidates. The pirwa-elders, therefore, possess the same social status as the fathers of the candidates. Hence, being on the same social level, the pirwa-elders possess the social capacity to be sponsors for the candidates. Such sponsorship brings about a mutual relationship between the two classes, a relationship supported by members of the classes concerned throughout their life.

The pirwa-elders have a real authority over the candidates so that no ceremony connected with initiation may be started by the candidate without the approval of the elders. The pirwa-relationship is officially established at the *Bukugaro* ceremony.[1]

[illegible] their blood is drunk in turn by the sponsors and all candidates. Then two of the elders smear the face of the candidates with the babies' feces. The elders must be of the 'right-hand' sub, but they are assisted by two of the 'left-hand', who take their place when they are tired. The meat is distributed among the elders (if warriors, i. e. the last initiates, are attending, they are not supposed to be seen eating meat in public), and the meal mentioned into rings are prepared for all those present. All the time the house of the animals are watched, to prevent stealing for the purpose of magic, and finally they are buried out and all the remains buried underground.

[1] That the pirwa-elders take a strong view of their power is shown by a case reported by Fosbrooke, pp. 14 s. In February, 1936, after *Bukugaro* had been performed, "a *Dorri* elder (i. e. senior elder, member of the class next but two above the candidates of the time) decided to circumcise his two sons, and herded here in preparation for the event. The local *Dorris* (the pirwa-elders), hearing of this, determined to stop him, asserted that he knew (ab-

[illegible] (no date) 1955 FL.12 Maori FL.12

[illegible] not possess cattle of his own (cattle are the property of his father), and therefore he must [illegible] apart from his own family which will not help us. He may not eat [illegible] meat in public, he may not drink milk as his own, but only with [illegible] assent of his age-unit mates; he is organized to live in a special age-[illegible] against village, and as a member of the age-unit, he is, individually as well as corporately, under the social and political authority of the elders. Finally, from the military point of view, although he is allowed to take part in raids or other police action, he is still considered a learner and is organized to accompany the senior initiated in order to be trained properly.

The expression, then, "become a man" is merely an [illegible] portion of a status not yet attained but towards which the first approval step has been taken.

[illegible] Individual initiation causes a boy to become a full member of an age-unit, and [illegible] duty he is introduced into the active and governing sections of society. Indeed, in the present cultural situation of the Maori, circumcision is the main ceremony of individual initiation, and is the essential requirement for unit and class membership. However, the initiate's membership into a definite unit or class derives primarily not from his individual initiation, but from the initiation being performed during the period for the initiation of that unit or class. It is, therefore, from finding himself within a definite period that a Maori initiate obtains a definite place in the structure of his own society. Indeed, this structural effect of time on the initiate is the essential point of the age-system as a phenomenon relevant to social structure. [1]

[illegible] V – THE AGE-UNITS AND THEIR MUTUAL RELATIONSHIP [2]

The two age-units of a class are called respectively "the right-hand circumcision" (*mawaka matau*) and the "left-hand circumcision" (*mawaka maui*). These two units are initiated in turn, in succession of time, "the right-hand" first, "the left-hand" second. That succession is usually expressed in terms of seniority, as we see below.

Each age-unit, however, is further subdivided. These subdivisions are formed by all those who have been individually initiated

[1] Bateson, p. 186, on structural time, and pp. 281 s. on structural progression and structural [illegible].

[2] Mannix, l. c., p. 79; Rivers, *The Maori*, Oxford 1926, p. 301; Lavaud, l. c., p. 197; Fox, *Further notes on the Maori of Kenga Cabang*, l. c., pp. 200 ss.; *Id.* ib., pp. 11 ss.; Fox, [illegible] Lucas, l. c., pp. 39 s.

during the same season. Passarge states that "circumcision", [541]
or better individual initiation "is usually performed during or at the end of the rains, a time of plenty among the Wassi," and is suspended during the dry season".

It is, therefore the seasonal rhythm that causes a further division of the period for the institution of the age-unit and thereby brings about the minimal divisions of the age-class. The phenomenon is in some way due to the nature of things. Indeed, as Frobenius continues, "it is natural that those circumcised in one season possess a marked feeling of affinity towards one another. This shows itself in the possession of a group name for each batch, the same names being employed from generation to generation". [1]

There is no need to stress that "the possession of a group name" indicates that a special group has been instituted.

Within the period for the institution of an age-unit, i. e., between the performance of two successive *Endengere-Engidimi*, individual initiations take place, according to Passarge [2] during four rainy seasons, and therefore four minimal age-divisions are formed as follows: (1) *di Changan ngire* or *di Kiparua*, (2) *di Partingalang*, (3) *di Ekondet*, (4) *di Tarnia*. Merker, [3] and Hollis, [4] state that the minimal divisions were three.

According to Merker, (1) *di jangan ebir*, (2) *di barinja dualleu*, (3) *di gerondet*, and this last is said to be the youngest: "*der jüngste Jahrgang*". But Merker states also that a fourth one is added, called *di ninguu*, which is formed by those who are initiated immediately before the performance of *Engidimi*, i. e. before the proper period for individual initiation, or circumcision, is closed.

According to Hollis, the following is the order of names:
(1) "*L-changan-ngiro* — the big ostrich feathers, (2) "*L-tarnia* — the helpers, (3) "*L-partingalang* — our last runners.

It is not very clear what function these minimal divisions perform in the internal structure of the age-units. It is clear, however, that, being they formed in a succession of time, they define the [554]
states of seniority among the age-unit members and foster that

[1] Note how succession ("a time of plenty") influences the holding of an initiation festival.

[2] This means that the names of these minimal divisions are always the same for every class.

[3] Passarge, l. c., p. 86.

[4] Merker, l. c., pp. 59 s.

[5] Hollis, l. c., p. 288.

feeling of corporate responsibility and membership, which is a typical feature of the age-class system.

It seems certain that the left-hand unit does not group as many members as the right-hand unit. According to Pommerolle, the left-hand unit is formed only by the three last-named minimal divisions; Frè states that it may not occur at all.

The following tables illustrate the situation.

The first table is reproduced from Pommerolle (1899).* It refers to the number of age-unit members in four different places of the Kisengo section:

Place		Kibaya	Nanzundu	Kagwa-ndi	Longido	Total
Right-hand Unit	Kimilo	60	120	60	300	480
Left-hand Unit	Mwitolio	40	80	10	80	190

The total percentage of members of the left-hand unit as compared with the right-hand unit is therefore 39%.

The second table is taken from Frè (1900). It refers to the names of the age-units:

Kisengo	Pwiko	Lolwe and Sota	Dumai
Right-hand Unit	1) Mamburumo	1) Kidonggoy	1) Mamatumai
Left-hand Unit	2) Kiloly	none	2) Kiloly

Kisengo	Kapotosi Lukidoi (incl. Mamapoto)	Lukidoitoh	Kisongo
Right-hand Unit	1) Alkumi	1) Kidoat	1
Left-hand Unit	none	none	2) Kaloloi

Though the value of these tables is far from being absolute, they show that the right-hand unit is far more relevant than the left-hand unit. Indeed we find that candidates are far more anxious to join the right-hand unit than the left-hand unit. This may be explai-

* Pommerolle, *l. c.*, p. 88. Schurtz, *Some Problems of Anthropological Research in Kenya Colony*, in *J. A. I.*, Memorandum XXIII, 1948, p. 6. The data is taken from Schurtz, p. 6. Schurtz refers to the paper of Pommerolle as a manuscript. This was published in 1948.

and by the status of seniority which is higher for the right-hand unit than for the left-hand unit. [GL]

To study how the seniority status of the age-units affects the structure of the age-class may be useful to our analysis.

The right-hand unit, being the first of the two units forming a class, is senior to the left-hand unit. A class, however, is not an absolute institutionalized set of persons, but it is related to other classes below or above itself. Therefore, the two age-units of a single class must also be considered in relation to other classes.

The right-hand unit at the time of its institution has no actual relation to the left-hand unit for the latter does not exist yet, but it has relation to the class next above itself and particularly to the left-hand unit of this.* Such a relationship makes the right-hand unit junior to the left-hand unit of that class next above. At a later stage, when the new left-hand unit is instituted, the right-hand unit in question becomes a senior unit. The senior right-hand unit and the junior left-hand unit will finally merge into a class. Therefore, if a class is regarded as an absolute body, the right-hand unit is the senior and the left-hand unit the junior. But if the class is viewed as a related body, both the right-hand and the left-hand unit pass through a first stage of juniority, and a successive stage of seniority.

It is important to stress that in the structure of a single age-class the right-hand unit is always the senior unit and the left-hand unit is always the junior unit. [GL] [GL]

The status of seniority, as contrasted to that of juniority, is not a mere abstraction. It gives rise to some special privileges which are asserted by Fosbrooke as follows: (1) " the marking on the shield known as *enoni engudi*," ** (2) the spear handle of black wood called *enjata narok*, (3) the right to build a fence without seeking permission

* One should note that a class is finally instituted, i. e., the two age-units merge into a new single age-set, when the first unit of the next following class has been instituted. See below on the discussion on the overlapping system.

** According to Hanson, p. 76, there may be six marks in the coats-of-arms of Masai warriors which they paint on their shields: 1. the warrior red mark (*en sero'engop*, in which Fosbrooke refers, 2. the black mark (*en ro'ero*), 3. the ornamental band, 4. the coat-of-arms of the clan, 5. the mark of leadership (*Kerpunielashumbata*), 6. the mark of bravery or distinction. Of all these marks the most important is the warriors' red mark (No. 1. The mark of the clan was rare in Hanson's time. The mark of bravery is reserved for the warriors who distinguish themselves in military action. The shield of the junior initiates (*il barnoti*) is poor in colour and pattern. They are allowed only the black mark, the red one is reserved for the senior initiates. [334]

from the senior moran[1]. To them, according to Rivers, p. 69, should be added the formation of the initiated segregated villages (menpaka).[2]

The behaviour set up by seniority relationship is one of open rivalry between the two adjacent units. Members of the senior unit look down with contempt on those of the junior unit and the latter retaliate as best as they can. The conflicts and clashes which ensue seem to be accepted as a normal social institution and in fact they are looked upon with favour.

Pentecost,[3] when that initiate seeks an formal demand for the above mentioned privileges of seniority. "The juniors", he writes, "will assume one of the privileges, and when met by a band of seniors will promptly be beaten up and ostracized. This process continues till wounds become frequent in these affrays. When the seniors feel that they are on the point of losing their ascendancy, they graciously hand over these privileges to the juniors, who may then proceed to the Tuelo ceremony". A detailed description of the same process is given by Rivers.[4]

The claim for the privileges of seniority and the Tuelo ceremony mark the final stage of the official period for performing individual initiations and therefore for instituting the age-unit. There is a certain regular interval between these ceremonies, which our informants try to estimate in terms of years. It seems, however, that the deciding factors are, the adjustment between the senior and junior initiates, the former handing over the privileges of seniority to the latter, and the agreement of the grey-elders that the proper time has come for closing the age-unit period.

VI - THE FINAL INSTITUTION OF THE AGE-UNIT[5]

The final institution of the age-unit is brought about by the performance of the Tuelo ceremony. This is described by Pentecost,[6] as "the ceremony of promotion from junior to senior

[1] Pentecost in his chart, p. 34, puts this immediately following the period of the individual initiation (circumcision) of each unit.

[2] Pentecost, l. c., p. 36.

[3] Rivers, l. c., pp. 69 ss.

[4] Rivers, l. c., pp. 71 s.; Bates, l. c., p. 147; Simon, l. c., pp. 389 ss.; Corrigan, *An Administrative and Political History of the Maori Race*, London 1910, pp. 69 ss.; *NZ ob. p. S. F.S.D.* 1906, p. 81; Lauper, l. c., pp. 194 ss.; Fox, l. c., pp. 481 s.; Wanganui, l. c., pp. 180 ss.; *F.S.D.* 1906, pp. 83 s.; Pentecost, l. c., pp. 36 s.

[5] Pentecost, l. c., p. 36.

[illegible]

system. Unfortunately, no such information is available. Man-
drillo,[1] describes the actual action in detail but from a purely tac-
tical or strategical point of view.

Special distinctions may be attained by the initiates either in
military actions or in social life. Thus, if a warrior is outstanding
in war for his courage and for " kills many savages " (Bikuta (a) he
is called " the bull ", *ol engak*; if he is feared and through the ani-
mosity of his father " frequently slaughters bullocks " for his com-
rades, he is called " the benefactor ", *S gumini*. These distinctions
as described by Mamram,[2] would suggest the existence of special
offices with structural significance. He states that " the bulls " play
a leading role (also Edmonds Bulls), and are the leaders in the fight
(" We shall die *Antibone* (as Kaugi ") ; " the benefactors " retain
a special position (also benefactors ordinary). It seems, however,
that there are no such institutionalized offices as " the Bulls " and
" the Benefactors "; they represent two different distinctions which
may be attained by any of the initiates. This seems to be the opinion
also of Mamram,[3] when he states that " the warriors are fond of
the titles *S engak* (the bulls) and *S gumini* (the generous people),
for they may then wear bells or a bracelet called *Kaveagan* ".

The internal structure of the age-unit, we may now conclude,
is based on various principles, which give shape to different groupings.

The essential principle is the contemporaneity of initiation either
during the same season in which the minimal age divisions are insti-
tuted, or during the same initiation period in which all the minimal
divisions merge into a single age-unit.

A second principle is the residential principle, on which the
mangatta and the *ainit* are organized. The *ainit of bul*, or the grouping
for the most festival in special segregated huts also seems to be due
to this principle.

The military principle seems to give an special military aspect
to the *ainit* proper, as found in the *mangatta*, and, apparently, the
same principle extends to the temporary capillary formation of
special partnership between two fighting warriors.

Corresponding to these various groupings there are leaders, as
mentioned above, who organize their age mates in the performance
of the various ceremonies and functions of the age-unit. It is very

[1] Mamram, l. c., pp. 99 ff.
[2] Mamram, l. c., p. 84.
[3] Mamram, l. c., p. 88.

[illegible] close to the exclusion of other classes above them. Their status is [illegible] as of trainees in the case of junior initiates, and of full warriors in the case of senior initiates. Although it is not incorrect to state that they are in a condition of conscripts it is wrong to say that military activity is solely their privilege.

[illegible] Residential segregation is generally connected with the military activity of the initiates. Krieger states that the camps were ordinarily situated in the strategic positions of the country.[**]

[illegible] But there are other points to show that this segregation was not intended only for military purposes. Thus the initiates are not allowed to form their own family until they are elders. They are also forbidden to eat meat "once by women", and because their mothers and girls reside with them in their village, the initiates hold their meat festivals on their own in a secluded place. Similarly, they are not allowed to have milk unless they are in groups of two or three at least.[***]

It is difficult to see any relationship between these restrictions and the initiates' military activity. It seems evident that members of the age-sets are still considered not sufficiently qualified to deal with cattle, and matters connected with them such as meat and milk, with complete freedom. Apparently, they do not have the [illegible] full possession of any cattle, the share of their mother's cattle to [illegible] which they have right remains the property of their fathers' until [illegible] they get married. And to the father goes the best part of the booty [illegible] which they take from a raid.[****] Since cattle are the primary source [illegible] of wealth and food, we must conclude that the initiates are still in a state of dependence on their fathers socially and economically.

This conclusion is corroborated by the fact that an analogous dependence holds true of their political activity. On this they depend entirely on their grave-elders.[*****]

[illegible] [**] The statement is endorsed by Hoesel's description l. c., p. 91. He says that the camps were always built low from any kind of cover, "if possible on a plateau overlooking a good water supply", and "commanding many miles of plain".

[illegible] [***] The initiates have a right to ask everybody for milk which cannot be refused. Generally they address themselves to their grave-elders.

[illegible] [****] Krieger, l. c., p. 30. "Das Vorkommt der an Kriegern beraubenen Rinder besitzt in erbrechtlicher Weise Anrecht in der Hauptsache nur Kinder des Vaters".

[illegible] [*****] Other restrictions such as the prohibition against smoking and drinking beer, both privileges of the elders, confirm the general status of inferiority of the initiates with relation to the elders.

[54] "I say, there sit no longer *el morua* (a circumcised, a warrior), but *el morua* (an elder). Take care of thy cattle, goats and sheep, and have regard for them. Give up the occupations of the warrior then sit now an elder".

"After this feast", remarks Worsley, "it all depends on the warrior whether he chooses to take a greater or lesser part in raids. Usually he gets married at once and lives with his wife either in [56] the father's kraal or in the warriors' kraal (*manyatta*) until all his age-mates have married. Only then he is recognized as *el morua*; each one builds his own kraal and lays aside the clothes, decorations and the pigtail of the warrior".

[54] It is evident that the effect of the ceremony is rather limited. It allows an initiate to take a wife, but, even after that, the initiate is not yet "recognized" as an elder. It is as if he were given the elder's status in anticipation of the time when all his age-mates are married. At which time only the status of elder becomes for all purposes official.

[54] A very detailed description of "the sphere of milk" is given by *J. V. Downes*, but the ceremony is mentioned also by other authorities. Fox,[49] states that "this ceremony is performed by each warrior individually",[50] and Downes tells us that it occurs at the village of the initiate's father and that four grown-elders take a special part in it.

[54] [56] [56] The ceremony is preceded by a dance. The candidate is clothed in women's clothes and the first two of the elders place women ear-rings (*merukpe*) on him.[51]

A test follows, in which the candidate is expected to confess how many times he has "stolen milk", i. e. taken milk by himself or with people other than his age mates. Two heads of cattle are usually paid as a fine by a guilty candidate. He is then solemnly instructed by one of the elders, apparently the most senior, about "what he must and must not do after he has drunk and become an elder". He now drinks the milk, "very little however" as this

[54] [55] [55] [55]

[49] Fox, *l. c.*, p. 458.

[50] He says also that "the ceremony usually takes place somewhere a year or two after the *E-unio* owing to the Government policy of reducing the period of warriorhood as much as possible".

[51] These ear-rings, *merukpe*, are also worn by elders. For this reason some of our authorities describe the *merukpe* put on by candidates as the elder's ear-rings or decorations. But the whole attire of candidates is undoubtedly of a female type.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 of these associations (the age-units) have long been married, the *ol oiboni* (the prophet) binds them more closely by giving a common name to both age-classes [164] each of which, as we have seen, had its own name. This takes place at *ol neher* feast. All the members of the associations come together at the *ol oiboni's* place and build a great kraal near his village. Everybody brings honey for making beer or an ox for meat. This last is then killed by suffocation at the *en gebata* feast. The feast consists in consuming all these things, and its climax is the proclamation by the *ol oiboni* that from now on all the assembled people shall belong to a single *ol adji* (age-class), and have a common class name ".

561 624 Fosbrooke, [165] states that " a single official, *ol-loo-surutya*, is chosen as the head of the whole generation (age-class), thus symbolising the union of the two ages (age-units) which have up to now been independent, each with its own *launon* or ceremonial leader ".

561 [591] It is after this feast that " those who are not yet married do so at the earliest opportunity. Those who are married, if their fathers are still alive, move off from the paternal *boma* (village); for they are now in complete control of their cattle, and if they stayed with their fathers there would be constant bickering on animal husbandry matters. It is also this feast that " pigtails are cut off and are not allowed to grow again, the new elders may drink milk alone, eat meat that married women have seen, carry about short bladed spears (*embere sero*) in place of the long polished warriors' spears, in fact all the customs of warriorhood are abandoned ". [166] In other words through the *ngeherr* ceremony initiates reach a complete [554] social and economic independence and become full men or elders; they may beget children, own their own stock and build their own village or 'gate'.

There is no doubt that the value of the *Ngeherr* proper for the institution of the age-class is equal to that of *Emboloeat*. This is stated by Fosbrooke. [167] He writes: " Just as the Kakonyuke ceremony of *Emboloeat* starts off the age (class-period) for the whole tribe (read = the whole Masailand), it appears that the Kisongo *Ngeherr* closes it throughout Masailand ". This value of *Ngeherr*

[164] Read – age-units (my terminology).
[165] Fosbrooke, *l. c.*, p. 30.
[166] Fosbrooke, *l. c.*, p. 30.
[167] Fosbrooke, *l. c.*, p. 30.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 immediate interest are in the main of a private nature, and their
385 share in tribal or public affairs is a minor one. They try to enhance
[554] their social status by increasing cattle, marrying other wives, and having their sons initiated.

561 The *senior elders* have a full share in political life. It would even
642 be correct to say that this is their privilege, and theirs is the class in power. Their sons are ready for initiation. Therefore it is upon their class that falls the duty of undertaking the institution of a new class by controlling and performing all the proper ceremonies. It is from such duty or privilege that the so called *piron* relationship is derived. It is a mutual relationship by which, on the one hand, the elders pledge themselves to assist the candidates, and be their sponsors, and, on the other hand, the latter revere the elders' authority and follow their advices. Thus the *piron*-elders control the main branch of social and political activity, namely the institution of a new class. And, because the initiates, both junior and senior, constitute the strongest body of the military force even this other branch of political structure, namely military organisation and activity, falls to some extent under the elders' authority. The peculiar nature of Masai society makes it out of place the search for individual political leaders, but if we want to express ourselves with usual terms, we could say that the *piron*-elders are the true political leaders of the Masai.

561 The three classes of *the old men* are the classes which have retired.
887 In practice they take no further active part in political life, but are concerned with religious ceremonies in which their presence is greatly considered. Their number is naturally decreasing and the few survivors of the last classes are generally dotards. When possible, these survivors, particularly the former leaders, are consulted when tradition is to be ascertained.

561 Analysis shows that the prerogatives of the age-classes are common and proper to all their members, and it shows also that the number of class-members, after the class is constituted, is so closed as no member is any longer accepted into the class.

Junior elders succeed seniors in political leadership when the institution of a new class is officially opened. The phenomenon takes place through the rhythm of the age-system ceremonies.

In this connection Fosbrooke,[175] speaks of a handing over ceremony performed by the senior and junior elders. "The mat-

[175] Fosbrooke, l. c., p. 32.

561 Soon after the *endungare* ceremony, the elders take three or four of their charges to visit the " medicine man." They take with them three or four new gourds as presents for the " medicine man," who is called *ol-oiboni*. They must also take with them the bark and root of a tree called *imokongoro*. I have not been able to identify the tree; [824] it is said to be scarce and is not found in the Loitokitok area. The root and bark are ground to powder and used to make a medicine named *emasho sirua*, an ingredient used in the preparation of a wide variety of charms. The elders inform the " medicine-man " that they have broken the fire-stick and present the boys to him and say " *Ol piron lang elle, kira nalo* "—" This is our fire-stick, we are one."

561 On their return home the boys' leaders seek one of their number 624 to appoint as their spokesman called *Ol si gurenani*. They make no special efforts but during the many debates, to which they devote [537] much time, they note those who show special ability; but ability to speak well is not in itself sufficient; there are other considerations of far greater importance.

There are certain families whose sons must not be chosen for they would certainly die if elected; again, the counsel of other families has an evil reputation and must be avoided. Nor would it do to select a spokesman from the *Endigongi* or medicine-man section or from the clans reputed to be unlucky.

The ideal *l'aigwenani* is one born of Masai parents in Masai country of a family from which *l'aigwenak* of former age-groups have been chosen. He should be wealthy if possible and a member of a lucky clan, must be energetic, not given to favouritism, and known to be fond of his tribe. That he should be an outstandingly good speaker matters not, provided that he satisfies the other conditions. It is said that his efficiency in debate will improve after he is appointed.

The names of possible candidates are submitted to the *il-piron* elders for consideration; the elders do not actually select a boy but prevent any unwise choice being made. The responsibility of making a choice rests with the boys themselves. It is particularly a matter for the leading boys of whom there are probably several by this time. [554] They are called *ingopior*, and are those who have shown ability and strength of character during the many debates already held.

Usually a *l'aigwenani* is chosen from among these *ingopior*. They discuss the matter secretly amongst themselves sending off one of their number on some pretext in order to be able to discuss him freely. When a decision is made the boys call some of the *il-piron* elders and send for the boy chosen. When he comes the *ingopior* say to him: " *Iye kintaa ol'ngwenani* "—We make you our *aigwenani*. If he

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

614 The name of the main group 'Loodo mongi is very liable to be confused with that of the sub-clan 'Loodo 'Kishu because the former means "the blood-red bullocks and the latter the blood-red cattle."

It is further difficult, if not impossible, to know whether to treat some of the divisions as clans or sub-clans.

The two words used by the Masai are *Ol gilata* (the clan) and *Kukishomi* (the sub-clan). But these words are not much help to the enquirer, because the Masai use each to some extent interchangeably.

Hollis, p. 260, speaks of a group of Masai called 'L-Oikop or Il-Lumbwa. I have been unable to discover these people. The tribe called Lumbwa, which lives [101] to the west of the Masai area, is quite different in language and customs from the Masai, being similar to the Nandi.

Some clans are associated with certain snakes as under :—

'L Aiser ol Orasume Orok (the black cobra ?), 'Lughumae ol Asurai Rongai Orok (the thin black snake), Il Darosero ol Asurai Sero (the brown snake), Il Molelian all snakes.

597 *Adoption.*—The Masai like to adopt children, and even grown men, of other clans and other tribes, who may help them to herd their cattle. Of recent years [563] they have also shown a tendency to adopt Kikuyu cultivators to plant maize for [241] them in the more fertile areas Nairagi Engare and Il Melili, west of the Rift valley. An adopted person is called *O-Singa*. Having been adopted he is regarded as being a member of the family and clan of his adoption and has nothing to do with his former clan. He may even marry a woman of the sub-clan of his natural father, provided that it is not also the sub-clan of his adoption. But he may not marry or have sexual intercourse with a woman of the sub-clan of his adoption. Accordingly, an adopted Kikuyu may call himself a Masai, and even though he may be unable to speak the Masai language he is not telling a lie according to Masai ideas.

When a man or boy is adopted as a herdsman he is treated by the head of the family as one of his own sons. He is given his herd of cattle and is helped to marry a wife. But if or when he elects to leave his adopted family he must go empty handed as he came, leaving behind him such cattle, wives and children as he may have acquired under adoption.

[554] An adopted man takes an inferior position socially to a well-born Masai. He would not in practice hold any important position in the tribe nor be able to marry a well-born Masai woman.

361 428 *Inheritance. Arrangements of Wives' Huts.*—Before dealing with inheritance it is necessary to explain briefly the arrangement of huts in a village in order that the terms "right of the gate" and "left of the gate" may be understood.

warcry of old: 'I am the son of So-and-So,' and 'I am the Son of Such-and-Such' and drive their branding irons into the outcrop. They fill their gourds with it and then return home and are treated with great reverence at Masai villages *en route*, being fed on a hot mixture of milk and water, known as 'blue water.'

Once painted, the young men formed into two columns, some 50 yards apart, and marched to the village. Many wore ostrich headdresses and some the lion-mane caps. Around their necks and waists they wore gaily coloured lengths of calico and beaded thongs secured crescent-shaped bells to their thighs. The clashing of the bells was deafening. This return journey to the village is carefully planned so that the young men do not have to walk through or near any water or cross a stream. On nearing the village, the columns counter-marched, then joined together into double file and entered the arena. As they passed, their mothers called out: '*Endopok*!'—'May you survive!'—but many of the women were busy attending to those throwing fits. There were a number of very violent ones as soon as the columns had passed within the circle of houses. Then the columns split up into groups and marched back and forth across the arena, each group led by an elder blowing a kudu horn (one of the very few Masai musical instruments). Now and then two groups would halt and, forming line, kneel and bow to one another; or to the *O-Singira* hut.

Late in the afternoon of this day the mothers of the 49 'pure ones' shave their sons' heads. All the hair, eyebrows included, is removed by means of a spatulate Masai razor. Milk is used in place of soap. Whilst being shaved, each young man squats in front of his hut on the ceremonial hide on which, as a boy, he had sat to be circumcised, and which, in future, will form the top layer of his mother's bed. A little of the hair from the *Ol-Oruno* and his lieutenant is also put in their mothers' beds, the remainder being thrown into the calf pens which form a part of their family home. Great care is taken that none is left lying about in the open in case birds should use it for their nests—a grave affront to the young men's sacred role.

During the course of the day the branches used as night barricades between the houses were replaced with new ones bearing green leaves. This is a symbolic act, meant to ensure that the *muran* may flourish as 'green bay trees.'

The third day is called 'The Day of the Sacred Hut.' During the morning a heifer, a gift to the *Ol-Oruno* from his father, is driven into the bush and slaughtered. This animal, called 'The Cow of the Rings,' must be a first-calver, well built, and black with a white belly. All the *muran* gathered at the slaughtering place to receive their rings from 'The Cutter-up of the Hide,' whilst their families waited in the village in an atmosphere of great expectancy.

Late in the afternoon the first of the *muran*, naked and still whitened with diatomite, came running back to his hut. There he received a deafening welcome from his family, whom he then led in a boisterous procession round and round the sacred hut. Soon, the whole arena was full of *muran* leading their families round the *O-Singira*, everyone shouting and highly excited. Each young man wore, on the third finger of his left hand, a ring from the hide of the *Ol-Oruno*'s heifer. These rings are really only strips of hide about four inches long with a hole near one end to take the wearer's finger. After a time, the 'pure' 49 arrived, their shaven heads gleaming, white circles of diatomite like spectacles round their eyes and garlands of green leaves round their necks. They stood in a group near the *O-Singira* whilst the *Ol-Oruno* was led to his hut. In front of his doorway was placed the hide on which he had sat to be shaved, and on this was set his three-legged stool, and into its concave seat was poured a mixture of water, milk and honey. The *Ol-Oruno*, who seemed all too conscious of his role of scapegoat, then sat on the stool.

595 /27 cont./
[736] see in their position as secondary wife lasting or temporary maintenance. Each wife has her own hut, in which she lives with one or several small children and manages an independent household. The woman married first is the principal wife (en aitero eŋg aṅ) (1)

1. = the first in the kraal.

and remains such until death; then the woman married next after
[422] her steps into this position. The principal wife is supported the best, in that the husband surrenders to her a large part of his cattle for the usufruct and treats her with distinction before the other wives by means of gifts of ornaments and clothing, as well as by better service. /28/ Her eldest son has prerogatives in the right of succession. The principal wife exercises supervision over the other wives and keeps them at the work when they neglect it.

422 The domestic community does not have any common property.
• [554] As property there comes into consideration first cattle, goats, sheep, and donkeys. The size of the herd is the gauge for the social position of its owner, the father of the family. The cattle
[428] handed over by him to each of his wives for care and usufruct remain his own, and only when the wife has a son about ten or twelve years old do they pass, with his consent, into the latter's possession, and sometimes into his ownership. /Ill. 9 appears here./ A presupposition for the latter, however, is that the boy
[591] is not needed in the tending of the paternal herds. For as soon as he receives the livestock, he must leave his father's kraal, along with his mother, in order to lay out a small new kraal for himself at a distance of several kilometers. This is supposed to prevent the two herds from coming together, an opportunity which otherwise the son would often enough take advantage of
422 to steal from the father. Huts and household implements, both
423 only of slight durability and little value, theoretically also belong to the father of the family, but in practice to those of his
[462] wives who use these things. The woman builds the hut, whereby the children or other women help her. What is not used in

000

/73 cont./

561 634 [791 [787] After he has counted off the little stones of his oracle game for a while, he decides that N., the son of M., is to become ol aunoni. This session is secret, and the speakers also have a duty to keep its result secret for the time being. A man can only become ol [554] aunoni who is distinguished by physical beauty, faultless build, strength, and health. After the speakers have returned home again to their area, they call together all the ol borõr members there and, with these, again set out for the ol oiboni. Then a very large hut (os siñgira otunigi) is built there. When it is finished, the speakers take a number of warriors into their confidence and tell them who has been named ol aunoni. Then all gather in the hut, in the center of which stands a new, neatly carved wooden stool, toward which the one named is inconspicuously pushed by those who know. As soon [301] as this has been accomplished, a few of those standing around him [291] push him down onto the stool, others place a string of blue ring-beads (ñ gonoñgo) around his neck, tie the spiral ear ornament made of copper wire (e surudia), such as is worn by old men and women, into his ear lobes, remove his short, skin-apron (e megiti) of the warrior, and in its place drape around him the long one of the married (the ol gela l ol moruak). Finally all those present cheer the new ol aunoni and cry out tadarawá jo ijõk eñ gischon, that is, remain poor, [556] bring us luck. The Masai in general maintain that every ol aunoni has remained poor; if he were to put livestock in his kraal, he would soon die, his wives would bear him few children, wealth would remain [431] denied him. But he does not need it, for every man under him is obliged to give to the ol aunoni visiting him a fat ox and milk. Hence he is constantly on visiting trips, which explains why he has neither a large stock of cattle nor numerous progeny. In his kraal the lord who keeps the women at work is missing, and the latter in turn indeed have no incentive to work, for, by means of the gifts that fall to their husband, an excess of foodstuffs always prevails.

[574 [721] After the ol aunoni festival is over, the other ol borõr members wander back home and celebrate a long meat feast (ol bul), whereupon they /74/ usually set out on a war expedition, while the ol aunoni himself goes back to his kraal and remains there.

[Warrior Kraal]

/86 cont./

701 speaking, yet their facial expression usually remains unchanging,
531 neither agreement nor difference of opinion may be read into it. The orator is not interrupted any more than he is forced to become silent by the restlessness of the listeners. Each one is allowed to deliver his speech unhindered to the end. We have here the simple flowing speech, in contrast to the dialogue type of the Negroes, where another respected man stands or squats opposite the speaker and at every punctuation pause, at every comma of the speech given jerkily in choppy sentences, makes known by an unbelievably stupid-sounding, more or less grunting ɛ̄, ē, or hm that he has understood the words spoken. The task of the speaker consists chiefly of arousing, by means of a feigned friendship with the chiefs of livestock-rich peoples, in the latter a blind confidence in the Masai, /87/ which
701 will facilitate for the latter a sudden, predatory attack. Moreover,
726 he constantly keeps himself informed through spies (often old women and a couple of boys) about all the questions of importance for the success of a war expedition, for example, concerning the strength of the opponent, whether he perhaps, for example, might be especially suspicious, where and how one might most easily take him by surprise, where the most livestock might be, where they pasture,
701 where they stay at night, where the fewest warriors live, etc. The
[554] speaker himself need not be a brave warrior; rather, cunning, deception, guile are the characteristics that qualify him for the political aspect of his office.

[692] Another task is the administration of justice incumbent upon him: he is the deciding judge in civil and penal matters for the warriors of his kraal.

701 A leading role among the warriors is played, furthermore, by
554 the el oiñok (1)

1. Sing. ol oiñoni.

(= the bulls), of whom there are five or six in every kraal and who gain their position by courage and bravery in war, as well as by superior physical strength. They are the leaders in battle. As a
[714] sign of their rank they wear, in dancing and in hand-to-hand
[534]

[Warrior Kraal]

/87 cont./

701 554 [714] [534] fighting, large leg bells (el duallan kitwa), the tinkling of which in the latter instance serves to prevent a going astray by the individual warriors and a scattering of the troops. Where the bell sounds is a rallying point.

A special position is also occupied by the il gāminini = benefactors. [556] They are warriors who, themselves generous, also have a generous, well-to-do father. From him they often receive oxen for slaughtering and then distribute the meat among their comrades and all strangers, without distinction as to age and sex. If such a benefactor is wounded in battle or if he suffers an injury elsewhere on the march or at home, the others are concerned about him and compete with one another to help him to the best of their ability.

701 703 577 Accordingly, miserliness is sharply condemned, and a miserly warrior or one who has miserly parents is treated badly and, in case of illness or wounding on the way, is not infrequently left to lie helpless.

701 578 [554] Speaker and leader live like other warriors and are not surrounded by any special ceremonial. Off duty they are treated with respect, which is shown especially by the fact that people avoid coming too close to their girls or lightly seizing an excuse for a quarrel with them. Among the other warriors these two things almost daily lead to serious disputes and often enough to dueling, in which the opponents go after each other with sword and club, but only very rarely [683] wound each other seriously. If this should happen sometime, in a few districts the wounded one receives from the victor a fine con- [431] sisting of livestock; in other districts, only if a bone is broken. In general immediately after the duel /88/ sometimes only after the healing of the wound, reconciliation follows, the formality of which consists of the mutual exchange of sandal thongs and sometimes also 701 the exchange of the skin cape (e megiti). The matter becomes more 578 serious if one is killed in a duel. First the father of the victor is then 682 condemned to pay a larger number of cattle. If he hands them over, the affair is settled. If he refuses them, however, the friends of the man killed attack his kraal and rob him of his entire herd. But they have scarcely brought them home before the friends of the one robbed also try to rescue them again. This goes on until they have become tired

/119 cont./

593 181 [186] The Masai are animated by a deep feeling of solidarity; they stand united against all foreigners. A sincere attachment and love bind the individual members of the family; they vie with one another in order to free a relative who has fallen into slavery. Thus, in 1896, the Masai who returned from the Berlin Exposition immediately used the greater part of their savings to buy back relatives who had become slaves during the great livestock epidemics around the year 1890. The tighest is the bond between parents, especially the mother, and children, as well as between brothers and sisters, looser between married people, where the lowly, oppressed position of the wife is of some importance.

181 461 • 554 735 602 The men scorn any kind of work. Only waging war is worthy of a man. Large herds of livestock and many wives are his supreme happiness. One who has both enjoys respect and prestige. One looks down on a poor devil. Truly poor people, however, are exceptions, since relatives support one another in generous ways. One who does not have such quickly finds accommodations as a rule with one who is well-to-do. He receives food and for that helps the women and children of his benefactor with their work (livestock-tending, kraal-building, night watch for the small livestock, etc.). The condition of /120/ poverty is also always only of brief duration; the poor man soon acquires some prosperity again through gifts from friends or a share of the spoils of war. Toward friends, one is just as generous as one is good-natured; the hospitality to countrymen, no matter where they come from (with the exception of the blacksmiths, of course), is unlimited. Everyone offers a visitor whatever he happens to have in food and drink. Everything that the stranger needs or wishes is at his disposal. He reserves for himself a hut for the night by sticking his spear in the ground in front of it; the host then seeks other quarters for the night and leaves home and wife to the guest. If a woman comes for a visit, the wife leaves the hut for the night, so that the stranger may take her place. Hospitality toward other peoples is known only if peace is concluded with them through the ceremony of infant exchange or through blood friendship. The cruelty of the Masai is no greater than that of the other black peoples, for example, the Negroes neighboring the Masai. If they

574 [572] [837] 181

/144 cont./

301 yellow long-tailed monkey (Cercopithecus pygerithrus, eñ dorâsch),
237 the black long-tailed monkey (C. albigularis, ol gêma), the honey
[136] badger (Mellivora ratel, ol belés), and a few other smaller animals.

301 Around the right wrist, often covering almost the entire lower
554 arm, those warriors who are generous and benevolent, the ñ gamnini, wear a cuff (Fig. 56) that consists of rows of iron beads (el dorongên or el gabaten) put close together, in whose place in more recent times appear ordinary small -- especially blue -- glass beads. The iron beads are made by pounding flat small wire rings and then /145/ putting these, strung on thin strips of sheep leather, around the lower
[431] arm and knotted on the inner side of the arm. Those people who constantly enjoy the kindnesses of the ñ gamnin express their gratitude from time to time by giving a string of such beads, so that, as was said, the ornament often extends almost to the elbow. More rarely than among warriors, the ornament is also found on one or
[431] another of the young girls living in the warrior kraal. If a girl has
[593] no brother belonging to the warrior standing, but does have a wealthy father, she receives from the latter both milch cows and an occasional

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Merker phot

Ill. 47. Arm and leg ornaments of the women.

30 /145 cont./

[554] piece of slaughtered livestock. She then generously distributes milk
43 and meat and thus acquires the position of benefactress.
[593]

The arms and legs of a beauty, except for the thighs, are stuck into a more or less complete armor of tubes of iron wire, which often leave only the knee and elbow free, while among poorer women this adornment shrinks to a few coils. These tubes are called es segeńgeĭ = iron wire, and are differentiated according to their location as es segeńgeĭ ol berańgasch for the upper arm, es segeńgeĭ eń dagúle for the lower arm, es segeńgeĭ ol oreschet = what is worn on the lower leg (below the knee). This ornament, like the neck spiral (es segeńgeĭ e murt), /146/ is wound directly onto the body part in question and can therefore not be taken off, but only unwound again, which usually does not occur until death. The weight
[481] of the ornamentation seriously impairs the mobility of the women and not infrequently gives them a waddling gait.

Warriors in dance ornamentation wear around their hips a leather strap embroidered with small beads (eńg ene ombolós; eńg ene is any strap, om bolós = the hip). Little girls also wear a
[291] like-worked strap; it then bears a row of small chains in front as a fig leaf and is called en doré (pl. en dorén). Older girls and women wear around their hips an inch-wide belt likewise stitched with beads (Fig. 57), which holds the leather apron together. Boys
[237] and younger men often wear below the knee and above the calf a ring made out of white neat's hide, with an end five centimeters long and one centimeter wide hanging down in front and in back (Fig. 58), and around each ankle a small bell (en duăl, eń /Figs. 57-61 appear here/ duălán [Fig. 59]) tied on with a little strap, which, by its widely audible tinkle in the silent steppe, is supposed to frighten off predatory animals lying in the grass. Finally with
[237] the war and dance ornamentation belong the long-haired black and white strips of skin (e mónge, e móngen) that the warriors tie around their ankles and that are made out of the skin of the white-tailed colobus (Colobus caudatus).

*233 head. Each herd was stopped several hundred yards from the water hole. The herds were watered in the order of arrival, the first herd moving up to the hole, small groups drinking as above, then leaving and its place taken by the next herd.

*233 Numbers of Animals: The emphasis of the Masai
• 554 is on numbers of animals, not on quality, and certainly not on any balance between numbers of animals and range productivity. The animals represent wealth in the broad sense. Goats, sheep, and occasionally cattle are traded for goods or sold. A certain number of cows are required for milk production. Beyond that, however, the Masai appear to regard cattle as a combination of status symbol, bank account, and object of reverence. The more cattle they have the better, and they see no point in selling cattle or trying to upgrade the cattle for that purpose. They do appreciate good livestock.
[857] Young boys often have a steer which they raise from a calf. They attach great importance to the condition of this animal. Still, wealth and status appear to be measured in terms of numbers of cattle, whatever their condition. Any effort to reduce these numbers seems to . . . them a scheme to undermine their way of life.

178
*233 In former times the limiting factors mentioned

*233
231 We had the feeling, however, that donkeys just as other
• 554 livestock are a measure of success and security, and regardless of the need some donkeys would be maintained.

*136 These donkeys are small animals whose weight
231 is probably less than half that of a wildebeest (i.e.
*233 under 200 pounds). They are quite independent. We often saw the small herds of donkeys leave a boma unherded and go to a water hole, then graze back to the boma. This practice probably would not be followed in areas where predators were common, but in the peripheral areas it appeared to be the rule.

178 Large numbers of donkeys appear to have been
231 the rule for some time. Joelson in a general discussion
*233 of East Africa in 1928 referred (p.61) to the "Masai, who graze immense herds of cattle, small stock, and especially donkeys..."

*233
182 Burning
232
824 The Masai burn grass whenever it is dry enough to ignite. The reasons they give for burning include the followings It produces a flush of new grass that is particularly palatable, nutritious and easily available for their livestock. It clears the woody growth and makes new grazingland. It clears or reduces ticks, tsetse fly, and disease.